1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

they say." This has been interpreted to mean: "The Chiricahua are out by themselves. They see a wagon. They are glad because they know their warriors will bring in the spoils."

Glory and enhanced status may be the by-products of the raid, but the immediate aims of those who organize such expeditions and participate in them are direct and practical:

> One party after the other went out. They went on raids because they were in need. They divided their booty among the poor in camp. Sometimes they traded it to the well-to-do. Sometimes the horses were traded for a woman [in marriage]; they were given to the girl's parents.
>
> When the people are poor and need supplies, the leader says, "We must go out and get what we need." It is volunteer work. Whoever is in want of food and necessities goes. The leader heads the party, which is made up of men only. Women never go on raids.
>
> E.'s father was a great leader. He helped the people many times when they needed things. One time he prophesied that they were going to take a lot of booty near a certain hill. He told the people that a provision train with food and goods of all kinds would pass there. They went there, and the wagons passed by, and they got the goods.

In the speech of a leader, who is about to direct an expedition, the raid is also pictured as a stern economic necessity:

> You love your homes and children. But we are going to leave them. Forget them. We do not know what is going to happen. Prepare your weapons. . . . . Do not be afraid. We want to accomplish something for our camp; for our people are in need. . . . .

Since raid and war are viewed as industrial pursuits, unwillingness to participate in them is attributed to indolence rather than cowardice:

> If a man wouldn't go to war, it was because he was generally lazy, just too lazy to get around, and his mind watery. Another person might have to push him around to get him to do anything. People who don't go to war are just lazy people; that's all. There may have been some industrious men who did not go to war because they were cowardly—but, of course, these men would never tell why they would not go to war if this was the reason. I suspect there were some who were afraid to die. You couldn't tell for sure. It was usually blamed on laziness.

There is no absolute terminological distinction between the raid and a war expedition. Both are aspects of behavior which is described by a single term meaning "they are scouting about"

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

the shape of a pot. When the pot was built up, they usually smoothed it, inside and out, by rubbing water over the surfaces. 323

For the baking, oak was burned to red-hot coals, a pit was dug in these coals, and the pot was placed in the pit and covered completely with coals. It was left so overnight. In the morning the pot would be brittle and would make a sound when tapped.

Over such a pot buckskin would be stretched and tied with sinews for a drum. [534] Such pots were also used to boil things in. The pots were never decorated. When [531] people haven't anything of importance to do, pots are decorated. Very often, however, the coil marks were left on the outside.

Another account indicates that some women, at least, decorated their handiwork:

Women make the pots. The pots are used for cooking and also for pottery drums. A special one is made for a drum, but its general shape is like that of the cooking pot.

This is the way a woman makes a pot. First she gets clay and sifts it until it is fine. Then she mixes it with water. She works it to the right consistency. Next she rolls some between her fingers and makes a coil. For the bottom she smooths off a flat piece of clay with a rock. She builds the pot up from this with the coils. She works on a level place on the ground. She takes a smooth stick or stone and smooths off the inside and outside as she works. She adds water to the clay when she needs it to make it softer.

Then she builds a fire. Any kind of wood is used for the fire. She places the pot in the fire and keeps turning it. When it gets red in the fire, when it is dried out, she takes it off, for it is ready then. Pots as big as two feet high and over one foot in diameter were made.

Some have designs on them. This is done with a stick when the pots are still [531] wet [incising]. Some that I saw had three bands of wavy lines marked along their sides.

Nothing is added to the clay, but to give it a shine the juice of the prickly-pear cactus leaf or that of some gummy and prickly plant is squeezed into water and applied to the pot before it is fired.

The women made pots, drums, cups, and plates of clay. Cups, too, were built up with the coil. They had these cups when I was little and before. The Chiricahua had pottery from the time when animals were people. They got it from [703] Coyote.[14]

Some women were recognized as the best pottery-makers and were expected [463] to supply pots for others. They traded them for buckskin, meat, and other [438]

[14] No Chiricahua Coyote tale was recorded that would justify this statement. However Coyote is credited with obtaining fire, bow wood, and arrow wood for the people, and, by extension, the origin of pottery may be attributed to his efforts.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

323 things. They agreed on some reasonable settlement. Some unmarried women
[463] got along this way. Men did not assist in pottery-making.
[438] According to another recital, a vegetal binder was actually mixed with the clay in some instances:

Get red or dark clay and grind it on a metate. See that no pebbles or sticks are in it. Then get a low-growing cactus plant. Split it and boil down some of it. Get the juice from it, mix it with the clay, and work it until it gets to the right consistency. Just work the bottom from a lump and then build the side out of coils. The inside is smoothed out with the hands. The outside is smoothed with the hands too but is finished with a bone. Handles are sometimes put on the sides.

[531] Pots are sometimes designed. They are not painted but are incised with the fingernail. One design is a series of circles connected by a line. Another is a band across the pot with vertical lines on it. Sometimes they put a saw-toothed design on. They also make a clay water jug with lines running around it.

When it is the right shape, they leave the pot in the sun to dry. Often this takes several days. They strike it with a stick to hear whether it makes the proper sound. Then they know it is ready to fire. They build a fire. When it has burned down some, they put logs over it. They put the pots on the logs and keep them there for about an hour and then turn them.

Different shapes are made. There is a tall cooking pot. After it is used for a while it turns black. You can boil things in it. It is never decorated at all. The shallow ones are used for drinking, and some shallow ones are made large enough for food containers or frying pans.

415 In addition to the vessels already described, the woman makes
412 dippers, spoons, and various receptacles of gourds, wood, and
824 leaves:

From Old Mexico we get gourds for carrying water. We use them as dishes too, and you can drink from them. But you can't use them for cooking. The little gourds from the United States are too small and are not strong enough for use.

The bole from the oak tree is hollowed out and used for a vessel or dipper. We use the growths from the walnut tree too, or from any tree that has them. I've seen my aunt use them many a time. For a spoon we make a hollow at the end of a stick. Broad yucca leaves are used for spoons too.

412 To grind seeds and to pulverize foods that are to be preserved, the woman uses a mano and metate:

[172] Not many women make grinding-stones. They find some which have been left by a people called "the ancient people." These were not Chiricahua, according to the story. They lived in Old Mexico in cliffs and stone houses. We also call them "those who live on top" and "[square] house people." These metates

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

421 are his own, and his wife may not dispose of them without his
[431] permission. But if he recklessly gives away all the booty he has
[626] earned in a successful raid and leaves his own family impoverished, he is subjected to stinging criticism at home and ridicule outside.

439 Trade is more likely to be intertribal than intratribal. "The women who didn't make their own pots got them in trade from the Pueblos and from the Navaho too. Those people came down with peaches and pots and things on burros and traded them for
438 saddles and things we had." But some bartering does go on
439 among tribesmen. "If a man wants a certain blanket, he offers something. If it is refused, he offers more until a deal is made." When something is needed for ceremonial purposes, a particular kind of feather, for instance, the one who has it is approached and offered whatever is required to induce him to part with it.

43 That trade is not further developed has been attributed by
463 informants to the lack of emphasis on specialization of labor:

> A good maker of bows cannot spend his time just making bows. Everyone makes his own bows and takes care of his own property. A woman who is widowed lives in a poorer condition; that's all. She does not get things she needs by trading.[19] There is not much specialization of labor. We were on the move
> [648] all the time. The Mexicans were always after us. A person didn't have the chance to specialize on any kind of work and trade off the things he made.

43 Another barrier to great interest in trade is the solidarity of the
602 kin group and extended family in material matters. The ease
[426] with which objects can be borrowed for legitimate purposes makes less important their actual ownership and their acquisition by barter.

425 And yet, in various ways, goods do pass from person to per-
[525] son. The wagering of property on games of chance, for instance, makes for a great deal of circulation of possessions of all kinds. Gambling is almost a major occupation for some individuals, and persons of all ages and both sexes show a lively interest in it.
[465] Much wealth changes hands, too, as a result of payment for ceremonial services. Because so many persons are involved in the

[19] But for evidence that pots were sometimes traded see pp. 383–84.